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# BOMBS FOR ALL!

## Protests in U.S. Congress

OPPOSITION IN THE U.S. CONGRESS TO THE AGREEMENTS FOR SPREADING NUCLEAR TRAINING AND ARMS TO FRANCE, GERMANY, HOLLAND, GREECE AND TURKEY WAS GAGGED, WHEN THE SUBJECT WAS BEFORE THE HOUSE LAST MONTH, REPORTS THE AMERICAN POLITICAL COMMENTATOR, I. F. STONE, IN HIS "WEEKLY".

### 'Devil's Kitchen on the doorstep of Europe'

By CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

WORK is being pushed ahead at Regane, in the Sahara desert, to prepare for the first French nuclear test explosion.

This first bomb will cost about £50,000,000, and will be too cumbersome to put in a missile (the French don't have any missiles, anyway). Production of a hydrogen bomb could follow after at least two years.

Protests against French testing have been made over a very wide area of Africa and outside the continent, sometimes at Governmental level, sometimes through such bodies as the Nigerian trades union congress or a specially created campaign.

The Times of Cyprus has given great prominence to its protests. The French project, it says, being held only 2,000 miles from Cyprus, "brings the whole question very near home." Prime Minister Debré's assurances, it says, are "like dropping poison in someone's food and telling him that he won't be able to taste it."

Anyone, the Times of Cyprus notes, will soon be able to play the nuclear game—"anyone, that is to say, with a convenient desert. President Nasser has plenty of sand in Egypt; King Idris has heaps in Libya, King Saud in Saudi Arabia. This puts us all in a splendid position. . . ."

Regane, says the newspaper, is "the devil's kitchen on the doorstep of Europe."

#### Briefly

"It is the bitter aftermath of war that has washed up these helpless, hopeless millions on to the shores of the world," says a new leaflet issued by the Peace Pledge Union in connection with World Refugee Year. "They are as much the victims of war as the dead and the wounded and the bereaved. Humanity and money are not enough. If this is not to happen again the first step is to renounce its cause—war." Supplies may be obtained from the PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Nearly a million people have read about the War Resisters International in newspapers and periodicals in South America, the WRI report in an appeal issued last month. A special campaign is on to win supporters in the continent and literature in Spanish and Portuguese has been prepared.

A market-place stall sold £7 worth of books and pamphlets for the Rugby Peace Pledge Union recently. The stall, complete with cover was supplied by the Markets Committee at an inclusive charge of £1. "Every assistance will be given from here to those who are willing to try this effective means of propaganda," say PPU Headquarters in their "Monthly News."

About £3,500,000 was the cost of the British air base at Habbaniya, Iraq, from the time of its establishment to its abandonment, the Secretary of State for Air told Emrys Hughes, MP, on July 15.

In Britain Emrys Hughes had this to say to the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on July 14:

"There is a considerable volume of African opinion which regards the people responsible for atomic warfare as super-savages . . . Africans converted by the Church of Scotland are thinking of sending a deputation to 10, Downing Street to convert the tenant to Christianity."

The first French bomb will probably be not much larger than the old-fashioned weapon that cancelled out Hiroshima 14 years ago. It is worth noticing what this means.

The weight of the largest "conventional" bomb used in World War II was nearly 10 tons.

The Hiroshima bomb was the equivalent of 15,000 tons of TNT.

The hydrogen bomb can be made the equivalent of 30,000,000 tons of TNT, and there appears to be no upper limit to its size.

### OMAHA: LAST THREE ARRESTS

ANOTHER missile base protestor was arrested for probation violation at Omaha, Nebraska, on July 21.

He was Wilmer Young, a Quaker participant in Omaha Action, the American non-violent project against nuclear missile policy. He had notified the authorities that he would return to the project's vigil camp outside the gates of the Mead missile base near Omaha, where he had earlier been arrested for trespassing.

"If the military and foreign policy of our Government is not radically changed before very long," he wrote, "the practical destruction of the human race is inevitable."

In the closing demonstration of the project that day, 27-year-old Arthur Harvey and Mrs. Marjorie Swann, a mother of four, were arrested for attempted entry of the missile base.

The vigil was then closed after 27 days of continuous witness outside the gate of the missile site.

Late the previous evening the vigil camp had been flattened by ten hostile young men.

All three protesters arrested on July 21 were taken from jail to court six days later. Wilmer Young's probation was continued; the other two pleaded guilty and were given the usual maximum sentence of six months' jail and a \$500 fine, but the judge suspended it and placed the two on probation on conditions that included ceasing anti-military activities.

All three told the judge they were unable to obey such conditions.

Omaha Action has now returned to: Post Office Box 9057, Chicago 90, Illinois. (Telephones: FAirfax 4-0654, and NOrmal 7-0571.)

A small band of "rebels" led by the recently elected Congressman Meyer, put down resolutions to block the nuclear sharing agreements, but the House Rules Committee refused to report them out and Speaker Rayburn refused to recognise Congressman Meyer's request.

Congressman Meyer, and the other recently elected pacifist, Byron Johnson were allowed a few remarks in protest on July 16, but these covered little more than a page of the Congressional Record.

Congressman Meyer declared: "This is the beginning of a policy which will spread nuclear know-how to country after country. The President in his message to Congress on May 26, and again on June 11, stated that he anticipated the conclusion of similar agreements with certain other NATO nations. I believe the executing of these agreements would increase tension, lessen chances for settlement and make it appear as though the US was less interested in negotiations for an honourable peace than in making further preparations for war."

After he had spoken, Mr. Clem Miller (Dem. California) rose to say that he strongly shared these sentiments.

"The more we study this field of nuclear activity," he declared, "the more we realise there has got to be some place where we call a halt and turn back. If we go on, then through accident or some other means, we will be led inevitably to some holocaust from which the world will never recover."

I. F. Stone writes: "Though 40 members of the House had signed a letter asking for discussion of the agreements the leadership steam-roller applied gag rule.

### IN THE SENATE

The Senate next day provided a worse spectacle. Not a single Senator dared introduce a resolution to block any of the agreements.

An anthology of fatuity could be compiled from (Senator) Humphrey's speech answering his own questions. While he recognised at one point that the nuclear sharing agreements are part of a series of steps which may take the world "just a little closer to the day of ultimate war", he soon hastened to say that on the other hand these agreements "could actually help chances for a test ban" by stepping up pressure on the Russians. This theory of pressure for peace by speeding up the arms race has long been the favourite rationalisation of bipartisan foreign policy.

Humphrey's final question to himself was whether the people of Western Europe wanted nuclear weapons. He assured himself that the State Department had told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in executive session that "the people welcome them".

This will be news in England, where the British Labour Party is deeply split over the issue; in Germany, where the Social Democrats and the labour movements are opposed to nuclear weapons; in Greece, where the opposition parties have so far blocked acceptance of nuclear missile bases.

Our military bureaucracy takes control of Congress for granted . . . Gen. Lauris Norstad on June 8 explained that by the end of this calendar year they would have nuclear missiles and other "advanced weapons" in the hands of ten NATO powers—Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Greece and Turkey.

No such agreements had yet been approved. The British, French, German, Dutch, Turkish and Greek pacts were still before Congress. The Norwegian, Danish,

### WORDS OF WARNING

Only a few American newspapers carried an announcement that there would be public hearings on the question of atomic weapons for Germany and other countries. No voice spoke up from the labour movement and none from the churches, with the exception of the Quakers. There was a message of protest from Norman Thomas, and from representatives of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and the Women's International League.

The following is an extract from the remarks on July 2 by Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers):

Is it not ironic, 15 years after D-Day and after the role which Germany played in the coming of two world wars, that the U.S. should be rearming West Germany with information regarding atomic weapons . . . These transfer agreements . . . practically close the door on any serious negotiations on 'denuclearisation' or 'disengagement' in Europe . . .

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We have recently been reminded by the hearings on nuclear war . . . of the tremendous choice before us . . . untold millions dead or abundant peace. . . . With stakes so great we should make ventures on the very best and deepest in our national life. We should not cower in fear in underground shelters waiting for the final blow. This is spiritual surrender. We can find no true security in military power which only breeds an opposing force. . . .

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The motto on our coins says, "In God We Trust". Do we have the faith as a nation to abandon our present faith in military strength, to adopt a policy of outgoing goodwill toward all countries including the Soviet Union and the people's Republic of China . . . to seek a series of regular conferences aimed at negotiating outstanding differences, and to see as our overriding common goal a disarmed world where the judicial process settles disputes? . . .

Our nation today is at the pinnacle of its power. If it exerted that power in this kind of moral leadership, the course of history on this planet could be materially altered.

Belgian and Italian agreements have not yet been submitted to it. Yet all of them, and their approval, were taken for granted.

Khrushchev could not be more sure of his Supreme Soviet than our Generals are of Congress.

The next step will come next year. Congress will be asked to amend the Atomic Energy Act to hand over the nuclear warheads to our allies. Friends of peace had better start getting ready early to fight that one."

# HIROSHIMA: Assault on a beaten foe

**By Professor Harry Elmer Barnes \***

Harry S. Truman, former President of the United States, has more than once sought to justify the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He told Peace News in June, 1956, that he "would do it all over again." Early last year he stated: "I think the sacrifice of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was urgent and necessary for the prospective welfare of both Japan and the Allies." Dr. Barnes here shows that "something more than dubious public manners and his lack of sympathetic perspective is at stake in dealing with this statement. . . The situation calls for some realistic historical analysis."

**WELL-INFORMED** persons have known for years that the bombing of these Japanese cities was not needed to bring the war to a speedy end and make it unnecessary to launch an assault against the Japanese mainland which, if actually carried out, would certainly have led to enormous bloodshed on both sides.

It has been difficult, however, to get this momentous fact before the American public in any effective manner, even though the relevant information has been published in prominent American newspapers and periodicals, the most complete revelation having actually been made on the Sunday following V-J Day.

What are the facts in the situation?

By January, 1945, the Japanese had become convinced that they had lost the war; indeed, so thoroughly convinced that they made overtures for peace so extreme that they were almost identical with those accepted in August after months of bloody fighting in the Pacific and the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There is every probability that the war could have been ended in February or March on the basis of the complete surrender of Japan.

### Peace feelers

What factual data are there to support what will seem to most readers an incredible statement?

Two days before President Roosevelt left for the Yalta Conference he had received from General Douglas MacArthur valid Japanese peace overtures virtually identical with those which were accepted in August as the basis for the Japanese surrender. They were made up of some five separate proposals, two of which came through American channels and three through British.

These Japanese peace "feelers" were not irresponsible, anonymous, "fly-by-night" proposals but "came from responsible Japanese acting for Emperor Hirohito." General MacArthur urged President Roosevelt to start immediate negotiations with the Japanese on the basis of these overtures, and warned against inviting or urging the Russians to enter the war in the Far East.

Roosevelt rejected MacArthur's advice and, figuratively, threw MacArthur's vitally important information and suggestions into the waste basket, with the remark that "MacArthur is our greatest general and our poorest politician."

Roosevelt proceeded to Yalta where he granted the concessions to Russia that made the Soviet Union the dominant power in the Far East and played a crucial rôle in the later victory of the Communists in China. The bloody warfare in the Pacific was allowed to drag on for six more months without any real military necessity.

Specifically, the terms of these Japanese peace overtures of late January, 1945, were the following:

1. Full surrender of the Japanese forces on the sea, in the air, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.

2. Surrender of all arms and munitions.

\* Professor Barnes, American educator, writer and lecturer in History, was born in 1889. Among his many books are: *Genesis of the World War* (1926); *The Story of Punishment* (1931); *History of Western Civilisation* (two vols., 1935); *Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World* (1941); *New Horizons in Criminology* (with N. K. Teeters, 1943); *Survey of Western Civilisation* (1947); and *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (1953). Dr. Barnes has served on a number of important US Prison Inquiry Commissions.

3. Occupation of the Japanese homeland and island possessions by Allied troops under American direction.
4. Japanese relinquishment of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa, as well as all territory seized during the war.
5. Regulation of Japanese industry to halt present and future production of implements of war.
6. Surrender of designated war criminals.
7. Release of all prisoners of war and internees in Japan proper and in areas under Japanese control.

The Government has never made this sensational episode public, so it may fairly be asked how we know the above statement about MacArthur's communication to Roosevelt to be a fact.

### Secret published

It so happens that MacArthur's document passed over the desk of a high-ranking military officer in Washington who was greatly disturbed at what he feared might happen at Yalta. He wished to get MacArthur's communication on record so it could not be destroyed by Mr. Roosevelt or his associates or hidden away from the public for many years as "top secret" material.

Hence, he called in his friend, Walter Trohan of the *Chicago Tribune*, and suggested that Trohan make an exact copy of the Japanese overtures. But he first bound Trohan to absolute secrecy and confidence until the end of the war.

Trohan kept his promise, but on the Sunday after V-J Day (August 19, 1945) Trohan published the material in full in the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald*. Despite the very timely and sensational nature of the Trohan article, no prominent newspaper, so far as I know, noticed or republished it either then or at any time since.

The authenticity of the Trohan article was never challenged by the White House or the State Department, and for very good reason. After General MacArthur returned from Korea in 1951, his neighbour in the Waldorf Towers, former President Herbert Hoover, took the Trohan article to General MacArthur and the latter confirmed its accuracy in every detail and without qualification.

### Truman exposed

We have here, then, absolutely accurate and convincing evidence that, before Roosevelt left for Yalta, he knew that the Japanese were ready for peace negotiations based on amazing concessions—so amazing that they were ultimately accepted as the basis for peace with Japan six months later.

This completely knocks the bottom out from under Mr. Truman's statement that the bombing was "urgent and necessary" six months after the Japanese were ready to sue for peace and when they were vastly weaker and far more frantic for peace than they were in January and February.

It was quite evident by early February, 1945, that there was no need for further bloody fighting in the Pacific, certainly not until the genuineness of the Japanese peace overtures were tested out by actual negotiations—and we know now that they were genuine. Any military delay in the Pacific due to negotiations at this time would, naturally, have worked to the advantage of the United States which was daily gaining in strength and morale while the Japanese power was fading away.

But, as we have seen, there was no move for negotiations on the part of Roosevelt. Instead, the needless but extremely lethal battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, together with other costly engagements, followed on the heels of Roosevelt's contemptuous dis-

missal of MacArthur's recommendation of negotiations for peace.

In the meantime, at Yalta, Russia was invited, even bribed, to enter the war against Japan, with the disastrous results we now know all too well, although Russia took no actual part in hostilities against Japan until August 8, two days after the bombing of Hiroshima.

She merely waited until the war was over and picked up the Far Eastern booty and spoils that Roosevelt and Churchill had almost forced on her at Yalta. Stalin would have betrayed the interests of his country if he had not made the most of this opportunity.

### Japan's plight ignored

But the MacArthur communication to Roosevelt was not the only source of information reaching Washington as to the Japanese desire for peace on the most humiliating terms from January, 1945, onward.

Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias of the Intelligence Service of the Navy, in his book, *Secret Missions*, and even more sensational articles in *Look* magazine, tells us how the Naval Intelligence learned of the desperate condition of the Japanese and their real desire for peace. There were other "leaks," some of them actually coming through the Russians and Chinese.

But all this information had no more apparent effect on President Roosevelt or Truman than did the MacArthur communication to Roosevelt at the end of January, 1945.

The facts about the Japanese situation from January to August, 1945, and the official American reaction to them are admirably summarised in Chapter 10 of the scholarly book of Professor Richard N. Current, *Secretary Stimson*. They serve to make it crystal clear that there was not the slightest military need of bombing the Japanese cities to bring the war to a speedy close, even in the spring of 1945, and without any necessity whatever of attacking the Japanese mainland.

### Pressure to test the toy

In relation to Mr. Truman's declaration, the vital question is whether Mr. Truman knew all of the above facts by, or around, the time he took over the office of President. He obviously implies in his pronouncement that he did not.

But I have the personal testimony of an American public figure of the greatest eminence and with perhaps the best reputation for unquestionable probity of any leading American statesman since George Washington himself, to the effect that Mr. Truman knew all about the situation by early May, 1945, and admitted that further fighting, to say nothing of atomic bombing, was quite unnecessary to win the war and bring an early peace.

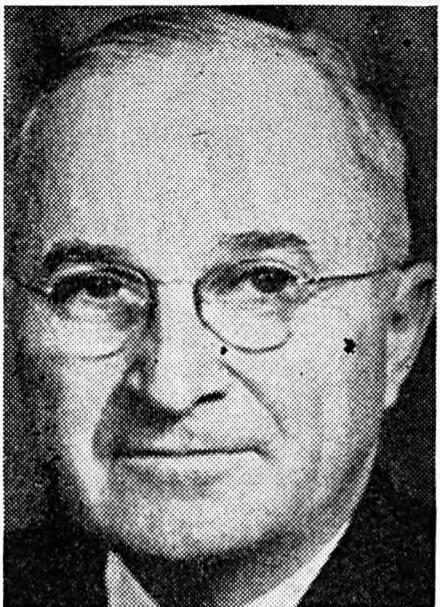
This distinguished public figure told me personally, in the presence of a prominent witness, that, having learned the above facts and being shocked by the continuance of needless bloodshed in the Pacific, he went to have a talk with President Truman.

The latter assured him that he was well acquainted with the facts about the Japanese desire for peace, the lack of any need for further military activity, and the good prospect for an immediate negotiated peace.

But he went on to say that he was new on the job and did not feel equal to the formidable task of interfering personally to check the persistent bellicosity of Stimson and the Pentagon hierarchy, who were determined to carry on to the bitter end—as we now know until they were ready to try out their new military "toy," the atom bomb. The bomb was the "pet" project of Stimson, who had been given general authority over its development.

Truman did nothing to arrange an armistice and negotiate, but, finally, months later when Japan had virtually collapsed, approved the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The remaining important question is whether it was the bombing that actually



Harry S. Truman

brought the Pacific war to a close and compelled the Japanese to surrender, as Mr. Truman implies.

A large volume of expert testimony, much of it official, has been accumulated since the end of the war and it proves Mr. Truman and other defenders of the bombing to have been completely wrong on this vital point.

### The real target

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey stated, even as early as 1946, that: "The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender."

The reason for the surrender of Japan was the collapse of her military power and the full recognition that further resistance would be futile. As the Bombing Survey summarises the matter: "Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

Perhaps the most striking fact established by research since the end of the war is that the main purpose in using the atomic bombs on Japan was not military at all, but diplomatic, and that the real target was not Japan but Russia.

This was suggested by Norman Cousins and Thomas K. Finletter in an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, June 15, 1946, and was more explicitly confirmed by the British atomic physicist, P. M. S. Blackett. The eminent American publicist and industrialist, the late Robert R. Young, also directly charged that this was the case in his trenchant article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, March 8, 1947, but many regarded this allegation as fantastic.

### Sacrificed to diplomacy

Yet it has been supported by subsequent events and revelations, some of them official. As Professor Current points out, even Stimson's Memoirs hinted that: "Russia and not Japan was the real target of the atom bomb." The bomb, so state the Memoirs, would "give democratic diplomacy a badly needed 'equaliser' as against the post-war power of the Communist colossus."

Historical study since the Memoirs appeared has confirmed this interpretation. Stalin took this view, and many date the origins of the Cold War from the time he received news of the bombing shortly after the Potsdam Conference.

If this interpretation of the underlying reason for the bombing is correct, then the tens of thousands of Japanese who were roasted at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were sacrificed not to end the war or save American lives but to strengthen American diplomacy vis-à-vis Russia. Not only the "humanity" of this procedure but even its political sagacity is open to question. As Professor Current wryly observes:

"If the purpose really was to check the Russians in the Far East, the

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# Direct Action plan PEOPLE AND PLACES

## missile base rally

THE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War is calling on its supporters to join in a rally at the Polebrook missile base site, near Peterborough, on Saturday, August 22.

Building workers on the site are perturbed at the nature of the work and already two workers have quit their jobs as the result of the activities of the Peterborough Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group. Speakers at the rally will urge other workers on the site to follow suit.

Those taking part in the demonstration should assemble at 2 p.m. in Polebrook village (near Oundle, Northants), where a march will leave for the base.

Speakers at the rally include the two building workers who quit their jobs on the base, the Secretary of the local branch of the Boot and Shoe Trade Operatives Union, and delegates from the Corby branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers.

Twenty trade union branches and trades councils have so far been addressed in the Direct Action Committee's anti-missile base campaign in the Northants area. As a result the Kettering branch of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Trade Operatives have passed a resolution urging their executive to call a referendum of the union to consider nuclear disarmament, and the Kettering Trades Council has passed a resolution supporting the Direct Action campaign and the recent vote of the General and Municipal Workers for renunciation of the H-bomb.

In addition the Kettering and Corby branch of the AUBTW has backed the Aug. 22 rally, while the Northampton branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has passed a resolution, seconded by another AEU branch, urging the Northants Trades Council to call a meeting of trade unionists in the area to discuss action against rocket bases.

### BRIEFLY

Norway's first Nike missile was unloaded in Oslo harbour on July 24. Norway is a member of NATO.

Gertrude Lawes, well known for her pacifist and trade union activities in South London, was killed in a road accident recently. Her brother was one of the COs sentenced to death in World War I and then reprieved.

### HOLIDAY FROM PEACE

THERE is a tendency among Peace Pledge Union groups to take a holiday from waging peace during the summer months, and more especially perhaps when it is a real summer as it has been during the last few weeks.

Stuart Morris is in Germany as I write this but not on holiday! He has been attending the War Resisters' International Conference in Brussels, and is now on a speaking tour in East Germany, speaking each day in a different place.

When he gets back, after this has gone to Press, he may well be very tired, but we all hope satisfied and encouraged by the work he has done and the contacts he has made with other workers for peace.

Nevertheless, he would, I know, be tremendously encouraged and rewarded for his effort if, when he returned, the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund had leapt up to the amount required to achieve its aim.

**SYBIL MORRISON**, National Chairman. During 1959 the aim is to raise £1,250. Up to the end of July we have received £498.

We need £200 to bring us up to the average.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Shepard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

### Nyerere's advice

IT was a great pleasure to meet Julius Nyerere last week. Although President of the Tanganyika African National Union he has developed a delightful gift for interpreting his country to non-African audiences and remains quite unpretentious.

"I was a school teacher before all this," he explains with a smile.

It was Nyerere who earlier this year sent a lengthy Africa Day message to the African National Congress in South Africa telling them to keep their struggle non-violent.

"Violence is unwise now," he said, "and will be unnecessary in the future."

Describing his "brethren" in South and Central Africa as "suffering under the most fiendish regime that this continent has ever known in all its long history," he went on: "Be of good cheer. Continue a strictly non-violent struggle. Don't ever resort to violence."

"In countries with a substantial White minority which has power to oppress the non-White majority, it is easier for the struggle to become an anti-White struggle and this can leave a legacy of hatred which for a long time will mar the history of our continent.

"Let us wage the struggle for independence," he concluded, "in such a manner that in independent Africa it will be possible not only for us, but also for foreigners and immigrant Africans, to move in Africa as free and equal beings."

### Sick funny men

JUST recently I heard a record of the American comedian Mort Sahl.

Sahl is one of a new kind of American comedians who have been called the 'sick' comedians. The reason for this title is that these comedians instead of using the traditional humorists' material like mothers-in-law and nagging wives use as their material subjects like the H-bomb, race relations and anti-American activities committees. And their jokes about these are very pointed and hard hitting.

Probably the best known of these humorists in Britain is the Havard lecturer in mathematics turned entertainer Tom Lehrer. Lehrer's parodies of popular songs have been seen and heard on British Television and Radio. (Sample of Lehrer's humour, "I was working at Los Alamos—the American nuclear testing grounds—at the time. I was a spy. In fact, all of us working there were spies for one side or the other.")

### Hiroshima

• from page two

destruction of their historic enemy in that area must seem, in retrospect, like a peculiar way to go about it. A quick peace with Japan, short of complete humiliation, might have been a more sensible expedient."

Mr. Truman may seek to cite in refutation of my presentation the statements made by Army and Navy experts at Yalta, such as General Marshall, to the effect that Japan could only be brought to her knees by a frontal assault on the Japanese mainland, and that to achieve this victory Russia had to be brought into the war.

But we now know that these statements do not prove Mr. Truman right; they only prove how wrong Marshall and the others were at the time of Yalta. Moreover, Roosevelt, having read the MacArthur communication before he left for Yalta, knew that they were mistaken.

The assertion by Stimson and American military leaders in the summer of 1945 that Japan could be brought to surrender only by an actual invasion or by the use of the atom bomb could readily have been tested by Mr. Truman by starting honest negotiations with Japan based on the MacArthur communication of late January, 1945, and the subsequent Japanese overtures with which Mr. Truman was acquainted. The Potsdam peace offer in July, 1945, was not a fair test.

Sahl is the best representative of this new humour. Typical of his humour is his crack about Governor Faubus of Little Rock fame: "Sure, I like Governor Faubus. He's a nice guy. But would you want him to marry your daughter?" A record of one of Sahl's performances is available in Britain. It's called "Mort Sahl

### Getting rid of war

WHEN Liberation, the American monthly, was first founded, it called for both fresh thinking and action now. Since they made this demand the editors of Liberation have been doing their best to respond to it. The recent activities of one of the editors A. J. Muste are typical of the activities of the members of Liberation's editorial board.

At the present time Muste is on probation as a result of his part in the non-violent action which American pacifists have been taking as a protest against the Omaha missile base. At the same time his address to the War Resisters' League has been reprinted as a pamphlet by Liberation under the title of "Getting Rid of War." In this pamphlet Muste has some very pertinent things to say about C. Wright Mills' new book "The Causes of World War Three."

Another pamphlet that has been published by Liberation is Linus Pauling's warning about the effects of nuclear testing, "Every Test Kills."

(Do not be put off by the snappy review of both these pamphlets by one of PN's assistant editors. Asked for a one sentence comment on them he said Pauling's a must (e) and Muste's a Pauling.)

Both these pamphlets are obtainable from Housman's Bookshop.

FOOTNOTE.—A 19-year-old fireman has confessed, according to the police, to starting 10 heath fires because he did not think he had enough opportunities to wear his uniform. Is the Pentagon on the watch for potential top brass?

**Phyz**

'Keep Red China out of UN' —says U.S. again

THE United States "remains firmly opposed to the seating of any representative of Red China," it has been made known in UN circles.

A recent Indian proposal that the "question of the representation of China in the United Nations" be included on the agenda of the General Assembly, follows similar proposals submitted by India every year since 1956. Each has been rejected—last year by a General Assembly vote of 44 to 28.

Mr. Truman seeks, finally, to defend his action by the statement that:

The need for such a fateful decision [the atomic bombing], of course, would never have arisen had we not been shot in the back by Japan at Pearl Harbour in December, 1941.

Mr. Truman has made no little pretension to an interest in history and some regard for historical facts. We might suggest that there is a vast body of historical materials on Pearl Harbour which apparently still await his careful scrutiny. They reveal, at the very least, that President Roosevelt kicked Japan in the shins, handcuffed the United States, bared its back, and dared the Japanese to shoot.

Even if one were to take the most hostile attitude toward Japan and her Pearl Harbour attack—even President Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" rhetoric—the answer of the Hiroshima City Council to Mr. Truman's blast is utterly devastating:

"Had your decision been based on the Imperial Japanese Navy's surprise attack on your country's combatants and military facilities [at Pearl Harbour], why could you not choose a military base for the target? You committed the outrage of massacring 200,000 non-combatants as revenge, and you are still trying to justify it."

Reprinted from the US weekly journal of conservative opinion, *National Review*, May 10, 1958

PEACE NEWS, August 7, 1959—3

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## Catastrophic consequence

By Sybil Morrison

*At that one time 90,000 people died. Later 120,000 of the survivors died. In all 210,000 were killed.—"I Was In Hiroshima." Katsuji Nakajima. The Star, July, 1950.*

THE date in August when the atom bomb was used against Japan is remembered, but the date when open towns were bombed is forgotten; nor is it remembered when the first ruthless "obliteration bombing" took place, let alone the day when British bombers let fall their high explosives of Afghan villages.

Yet all these things occurred logically and inexorably as a result of each other; each one was an extension of the other, and so long as the possibility of war remained their use was ultimately inevitable. The H-bomb is the catastrophic consequence of these deeds.

All were plausibly justified at the time; the Afghan raids were alleged to be necessary for the purpose of protecting British imperial frontiers; "obliteration bombing" was justified on the grounds that by terrorising the Germans as well as killing them they could be brought to surrender; the atom bomb was justified on the grounds that it ended the war with Japan thereby saving British and American lives.

Even those who accepted these excuses as valid must see now that actions undertaken for the alleged purpose of saving the lives of some human beings at the expense of other human beings has brought the whole human race within reach of its own extermination.

★

A great deal is heard, both at Geneva, at trades union conferences, in Parliament and in the Press about the horror of such a catastrophe, and it is clear that the negotiations in regard to control and inspection are dominated by fear of the dreadful weapons which might be used if they broke down.

Yet in all that we read and hear there seems to be not one word of repentance for the crimes; there is much talk of blame and where it lies, but no acceptance of blame, and the truth is that repentance is the first step that would lead to a re-appraisal of motives and actions.

The H-bomb, like all other weapons, is irrelevant to peace; it is only relevant to war. If the threat of it by some miracle should be removed to-morrow the world might still be menaced with war; the problem of Berlin would not be solved by it, nor the threat of revolution in Africa. Any tension or conflict of interests would still give rise to the possibility of its renewed manufacture.

There is only one way to ensure that there should be no more Hiroshimas, and that is the abandonment of the method of war itself. When war is discarded the way to peace will be in sight.

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**DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE**  
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

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# FAMOUS WILL PICKET No. 10

A WEEK-LONG day and night picket in Whitehall—the nearest that can be got to No. 10 Downing St.—will be one of the activities of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament during its National Nuclear Disarmament Week commencing on Sept. 13.

Some 14 professions will maintain the picket, each providing pickets in turn during the day shifts—with campaigners taking over at night—so that there are at least half a dozen well-known figures on the picket every day.

The Women's Group are organising a midnight matinée, "Stars in Our Eyes," which will be held at the Royal Festival Hall on Sept. 21-22 from 11 p.m. to 12.30 a.m. Meanwhile, the National Publicity Committee are producing a number of different posters, stickers, forms for the collection of names, special broadsheets, while for local Press advertisements a number of stereos are being made.

### Youth section activities

A Sept. 13 march from Trafalgar Square to Victoria Park, Hackney, will be only one of the activities of the youth section of the CND. Its main efforts will be directed into a week-long picket outside Lambeth Palace, an indoor meeting for young people on Sept. 19, and assistance with the final rally in London on Sept. 20.

Collection of signatures for a youth petition to the Prime Minister will also be undertaken during the Week, and will continue after.

Other activities which are so far known to be taking place include a week-long picket of the French Embassy, and a series of TU conferences in Wales preceding the Week.

As a suggestion for the kind of activity which may be undertaken by local groups, the CND has devised a model programme:

Sunday, Sept. 13: All-day picketing and collection of signatures outside church services; morning sermons on nuclear disarmament in all churches where ministers

are sympathetic; afternoon march and poster parade of church congregations, ending with a service of all denominations; evening distribution of leaflets and collection of signatures at cinema queues.

Monday, Sept. 14: afternoon joint meeting of Parent Teacher associations, films and a speaker; evening opening night at local repertory theatre of the "The Offshore Island," by Marghanita Laski, with collection of signatures at the theatre.

### Model week

Tuesday, Sept. 15: afternoon meeting of women and women's organisations, followed by a march and poster parade for women only; evening special meeting of trades council for a Campaign speaker, followed by a march of trade unionists around town; second night at repertory theatre and collection of signatures.

Wednesday, Sept. 16: afternoon official opening of exhibition at 2 p.m.; evening march of young people around town, followed by a dance.

Thursday, Sept. 17: all-day exhibition; afternoon delegation to meet the town council combined with picket of the town hall or civil defence headquarters. Mayor and Council formally invited to attend forum of doctors and scientists at the closing of the exhibition; evening picket of local factory manufacturing missile components.

Friday, Sept. 18: picket of factory continues until 12 noon and ends with open-air meeting, accompanied with continuous film show; early evening poster parade and loudspeaker tour to advertise meeting; later meeting with CND national speaking team, end of film show and torchlight procession of the audience around town.

Saturday, Sept. 19: all-day stalls in shopping centres, mass collection of signatures all over town; contingent of local supporters leaves for airfield 20 miles away to leaflet crowd attending Battle of Britain display; afternoon mass march around town, finishing with open-air meeting in park.

All the local political party headquarters should receive a well publicised deputation.

Regarding publicity the Campaign suggests that every group should appoint a

## Meetings of note

PROFESSOR BUTTERFIELD and (Roman Catholic) Archbishop Roberts will be the speakers at a theological conference on the theme of "The Just War" on September 23. The conference, which is by invitation, has been organised by The Society of Friends, Quakers.

Last week the Quakers announced that long playing records of extracts of the "Modern War Challenges Christians" meeting on May 25 will be available by September and also a pamphlet embodying the main speeches.

Another pamphlet on which work is at present in progress will consider the position of Christians in a world of ever-increasing armaments.

\*

"PROBLEMS of Peace To-day" is the title of a week-end discussion course at Spode House, Hawksworth Priory, Rugeley, Staffs., the Roman Catholic centre. Speakers and subjects are to be announced. The date is Friday, October 16, to Sunday, October 18, and the fee is £2 2s.

The summer and autumn programme published by Spode House includes a Study Conference on the World Refugee Problem from Friday, November 6, to Sunday, November 8, organised by Fr. C. Ryan, OP.

\*

"POLITICS without Weapons, in Theory and Practice," is the title of the second of two linked, co-operative Study Courses at Friendship House ("Freundschaftsheim"), Buckeburg, North Germany, in September. The courses will be conducted entirely in English.

Full information about them can be obtained from the Heim or from the secretary of the British Committee, W. R. Hughes, 35 Doultong, Shepton Mallet, Somerset. The fee for the four weeks is 14 guineas.

## NO MEDICAL FOR CO

DENIS HAYES represented Michael J. Harrison at Clerkenwell Magistrates Court on July 21, when Harrison was prosecuted for failing to attend for a Medical Examination for the Forces. Mr. Hayes asked Mr. E. G. H. Robey, the magistrate, not to make an order for Harrison now to be medically examined under the National Service Acts.

Michael Harrison was a conscientious objector on humanitarian grounds and had been rejected by both Local and Appellate Tribunals. He had refused to comply with a court order to be medically examined the previous February, when Mr. Robey had reluctantly sent him to prison for six weeks. The solicitor for the Ministry of Labour explained that where a sentence of less than three months' is imposed on a first prosecution, then efforts were again made to have the person examined.

Denis Hayes reminded the magistrate of this previous conviction when he had reluctantly imposed a prison sentence and suggested that that sentence had by itself sufficiently vindicated the law; a fine of up to five pounds could now be imposed for the failure to attend for medical examination so far, without the court making any fresh order.

In giving judgment Mr. Robey said that he had at one time given very much heavier sentences for this offence, but with conscription coming to an end he had felt that six weeks' imprisonment was sufficient. He fined Harrison £5, with three guineas costs, and took the quite exceptional step of not making a court order for him to be medically examined.

It is very many years since a magistrate has not made such an order even on a second prosecution. Mr. Edward G. H. Robey (the son of the comedian Sir George Robey) had previously imposed sentences of up to twelve months' imprisonment for similar offences.

Press Officer for the Week and requests that his name be forwarded as soon as possible to the CND regional HQ.

Regional activities include a number of marches and rallies in the largest town of each region. All regional HQs have been allotted a national speaking team to cover meetings in the area, films and exhibitions, and the administration of these is in the HQs hands. Most of the regional rallies will be held on Saturday, September 19, but London and Glasgow will hold theirs the following day.

Other suggestions for the Week can be found in the July copy of the CND Special Bulletin, obtainable from 143 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

The National Nuclear Disarmament Week is designed to achieve three objectives: make a national impact, double the number of CND members and raise funds. Coming just before the Party conferences the Week also has a political significance.

**Radioactive dust** killed animals at an experimental station in Thy, Denmark, one day in June, say military atomic experts. The matter was immediately hushed up.

## CLASSIFIED

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## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive eight days before publication.

2. Include Date, TOWN, TIME, PLACE (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, August 8

SOUTHEND: 2.45 p.m. Royal Tee. Poster Pde. 4 p.m. Mtg. on Front. Supporters holidaying in area, please help. CND.

Saturday, August 8—Saturday, August 15

LONDON, S.W.1: Midnight Sat./Sun. 8/9, Ministry of Labour, St. James's Sq. Picket sympathy David Bell. PYAG

Monday, August 10

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Meeting. PPU.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Carlton Hill. Working Party. WR-PYAG.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd., London Appellate Tribunal. Public admitted. CBCCO.

Wednesday, August 12

LONDON, N.1: 7.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd. "One Universal Republic." W. Clayfield. PYAG.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. 57 Clifton Rd. Youth Looks at Pacifism." A. Rayden, I. Carrick, I. Rowse. PPU.

Saturday, 8: LONDON, W.4. 3 p.m. Turnham Green. Open-air mtg. CND. Saturday, 15, to Saturday, 22: SUMMER CONFERENCE at Springfield St. Mary, Oxford. Details from Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1.